



SPECIAL REPORT

# Spain: Prospects for the 12th government

Madrid, November 2016

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LLORENTE & CUENCA

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

On October 29, the candidate of the People's Party (Partido Popular) Mariano Rajoy was invested as President by a simple majority in the Congress of Deputies.

It was his fourth appearance requesting the backing of the house, following the votes on August 31, September 2 and October 27.

The investiture took place two days before the deadline for the dissolution of Parliament and calling a general election for the third time.

A change in the Socialist Party's attitude from a "no" to abstention led to the success of the vote for the People's Party candidate and allowed the government's term in office to begin normally.

**The 12th Constitutional government began with the appointment of the members of Cabinet on November 3. It is destined to be one of incessant parliamentary debate** and thus of uncertainty with respect to its duration.

This Technical Note analyses the keys to the new government's term and the variables that will determine the political agenda.

## 2. THE NEW GOVERNMENT

On 3 November Mariano Rajoy announced the composition of the Executive that will accompany him on this 12th government. There has been a **partial renewal**: around half of the ministries have new heads. Those chosen are party members, some with technocratic profiles and others of a more political nature.

In total, the cabinet is made up of 14 portfolios, including that of the President himself and the Vice-Presidency of the Government, who continue in their positions. Of the rest, six former ministers remain in the cabinet (three change ministry or functions) and there are six new members.

**The economic team is once more headed up by Montoro and de Guindos** (who takes over the Industry portfolio, after assuming that of Trade in the previous term in office at the same ministry). The head of the new Ministry of Energy, Tourism and the Digital Agenda, Álvaro Nadal, already took part in economic meetings in the Cabinet as Director of the Economic Office of the President of the Government.

“The President is aware of the difficulties facing him in reaching agreements”

The relevance given to the issue of sovereignty in Catalonia means that the responsibility for territorial administrations has been transferred to the Vice-Presidency of the Government.

Together with the President of the Government, the final composition of the Cabinet is as follows:

- Vice-Presidency of the Government, Ministry of the Presidency and of the Regional Administrations: Soraya Sáenz de Santamaría Antón
- Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation: Alfonso María Dastis Quecedo
- Minister of Justice: Rafael Catalá Polo
- Minister of Defence: María Dolores de Cospedal García
- Minister of the Treasury and Public Function: Cristóbal Montoro Romero
- Minister of Home Affairs: Juan Ignacio Zoido Álvarez
- Minister of Public Works: Íñigo de la Serna Hernáiz
- Minister of Education, Culture and Sport, and Government Spokesperson: Íñigo Méndez de Vigo y Montojo

- Minister of Employment and Social Security: Fátima Báñez García
- Minister of Energy, Tourism and Digital Agenda: Álvaro Nadal Belda
- Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food and Environment Affairs: Isabel García Tejerina
- Minister of Economic Affairs, Industry and Competition: Luis de Guindos Jurado
- Ministry of Health, Social Services and Equality: Dolores Montserrat

### 3. A MINORITY GOVERNMENT

The need to negotiate all the measures the Government wants to push through in Parliament has been a recurring theme made in the President's speeches and public statements. **He is aware of the difficulties facing him in reaching agreements, as he has a parliamentary group of 134 members.** Of all the groups that have formed a Government since the Post-Franco Transition, this is the smallest, 42 seats short of an absolute majority.

“It cannot be ruled out that during the government’s term a political leader could present a censure motion”

He starts with the support of the members of other parties who were elected on their own party lists but moved to the Mixed Group (two from Unión del Pueblo Navarro and one from Foro Asturias). In addition, he has the investiture agreement with Ciudadanos (32 seats) and Coalición Canaria (one seat), so they will be his closest partners. But more support has to be found to ensure a majority that allows him to push through the Draft Bills he wants to present in Parliament.

**A number of votes in Congress have already shown the weakness of the position faced by the Government**, as initiatives have been passed against its wishes.

The PSOE, Podemos and Ciudadanos parliamentary groups total 187 votes in all. They have used them to approve some motions and even to ignore the veto on Draft Bills that the Constitution recognises for the Government if these laws involve changes to the budget.

There are other unfavourable combinations for the Government, such as possible left-wing alliances with nationalist parties, which may also promote measures contrary to the Executive’s wishes, mainly in terms of regulation of the system

of autonomous regions, for example in regional financing or regulation of **market unity**.

The parliamentary fragmentation suggests that **this government will not last four years in office**.

The Government’s main legal project, the **State Budget Act**, will be the first legislative milestone in which the negotiators will have to do their utmost to reach an agreement that satisfies a broad majority of Congress. A possible failure in the negotiation of this first 2017 budget or that of the following year could give rise to new elections being called.

In addition, it cannot be ruled out that during the government’s term a political leader could present a **censure motion** to put the President’s parliamentary support to the test. A possible change in the leadership of the PSOE or a commitment by the leader of Podemos could favour this situation.

In this scenario of a Congress hostile to the government, we also have to take into account that **the President of the Government has the power to call new elections**. There is a period of one year established by the Spanish Constitution from the calling of the previous elections, so these next

“The main goal set out by the President for this term is employment”

elections could be held at the end of June at the earliest. This power can be exercised at any date after this one-year period.

Rajoy is in a good position, as all analysts agree that in any new elections his results would improve and could find it easier to achieve an absolute majority (with the support of a party close to his ideas such as Ciudadanos).

#### 4. KEYS TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT

In his investiture speech, Rajoy outlined his Government’s proposed actions over the coming months.

**The main focus remains economic policy, which combines fiscal consolidation with economic recovery.**

Rajoy has always started his speeches highlighting the reforms carried out since 2012 and the need to continue with the reforms complying with European commitments.

The new political situation is reflected in all his speeches in the form of proposals for national pacts. In his investiture speeches he pointed to the various pacts reached between all the parliamentary groups: competitiveness, energy, science, pensions, finance of public services, education, gender violence, the unity of Spain... **He is the**

**President who has put most offers for agreements on the table.**

The main goal set out by the President for this term is **employment**. He pointed to the **labour reform** as responsible for the improvement in the figures for new jobs. He announced himself as against an in-depth review of the reform, although he is open to fine-tuning some of the aspects. The fight against unemployment involves making progress in the efficiency and competitiveness of the labour market, being committed to **flexicurity**, promoting the creation of stable and quality employment, and adapting it to the new technological framework and new employment realities.

Next he turned to economic growth, which implies support for **priority sectors: agri-food, industry, tourism and digital contents** (he mentioned the latter sector in a separate block).

Within this framework, the **energy pact** between the parliamentary parties is a key element that should allow an increase in competitiveness and help in the fight against climate change.

Within the scope of self-employment and entrepreneurship, Rajoy set

“Among other institutional reforms, he proposed a regulation of lobbying”

out measures to be taken immediately. They include tackling a reform of the system of Social Security contributions by the self-employed in Congress to make it more flexible and appropriate to the special nature of each business activity; calculating the amount of pensions under better conditions; making employment and pensions fully compatible; and extending the period of flat-rate 50 euros of contributions from the current six months to one year.

There are additional measures aimed at **business development**: eliminating regulatory procedures and removing the legal burdens that create disincentives to growth for SMEs; cutting the tax burden on those who invest in their growth; and guaranteeing finance and liquidity for SMEs with special control of late payments in business.

The next block of economic policy measures was R&D+i. He proposed a **national pact for science and innovation** to achieve the aim of public investment amounting to 2 % of GDP in all the activities of this sector by 2020. The agreement will also include stimuli for private finance consisting of the improvement of the current system of tax deductions and the recognition of the work of researchers.

On the **fiscal front**, the path to be followed is determined by the framework of the EU Stability and Growth Pact and the commitment to **reduce the deficit to less than 3 %** over the coming years. For this purpose, the comprehensive review of the budget and improvement in efficiency in the public sector will continue. There is a commitment to **future tax cuts** as economic growth increases. Specifically, a cut of two points is offered on the income tax rate, as well as a review of the forms of taxation to promote investment and prevent fraud and tax evasion. In addition, within the framework of regional finance, an analysis will have to be made of the tax revenues within the competence of the regions.

On the question of **pensions**, he announced himself in favour of an immediate calling of a meeting of the Toledo Pact, to start a process of dialogue that can strengthen the public system and guarantee its sustainability.

A **pact for education** has to bring together all the political forces and improve the quality of education. It includes a Teachers' Charter, to improve access and career development; a commitment to improve and increase respect for vocational training; and points to the importance

“The difficulty in negotiating the budget arises from the specific parliamentary procedure”

of agreeing measures to improve universities, improve their governance, finance and dynamism.

On **democratic regeneration**, he set out measures agreed with Ciudadanos, such as the refusal to grant pardons to people sentenced for corruption. In addition, among other institutional reforms, he proposed a **regulation of lobbying** to safeguard the defence of the public interest, bolster the prevention of corruption in **public procurement** and the concession of subsidies, greater control and **transparency** obligations in political parties.

On **foreign policy**, he called for a consensus on European matters that puts Spain at the heart of the EU. The same priority geopolitical forums as in previous governments have been maintained: the United States, Latin America, the southern Mediterranean and Sub-Saharan Africa. **There were no references to Asian powerhouses such as China and India.**

The final core element of the new Government is focused on a proposal for a **pact for the unity of Spain** to address the challenge of sovereignty in Catalonia. The pact must be based on principles of unity, sovereignty, equality of Spanish people and respect for the principles of democracy and the rule of law.

## 5. FIRST DRAFT BILLS

In the first few weeks, the Government will have to present a number of draft bills that were delayed in 2016: relating to EU Directives and the Budget.

First, there are numerous **transpositions of EU Directives** whose drafting is at an advanced stage and whose deadline for presentation has passed. Most related to the financial sector and listed companies. There are others related to tobacco, consumers, public procurement, competition and intellectual property.

Second, the **State Budget** has to be presented. The Constitution stipulates that it must be presented before the end of September, but as there was an acting Government it did not have the power to present it, and now has to resume the project. First will be the presentation of the expenditure ceiling for parliamentary ratification, and after that the Draft Bill itself.

If it is presented in mid-November, due to the complex procedure involved it will be difficult to approve it before February. This situation will oblige the 2016 budget to be extended on 1 January (this already happened in 2012 with the budget of the previous year while a new one was approved) and the issue of various

“The nationalist parties together with Podemos have shown themselves in favour of recognising the right to self-determination and approval of a referendum in Catalonia”

Decree-Laws updating items such as public-sector salaries and pensions.

The obligation to negotiate the new Draft Bill with other parliamentary parties would also involve difficulty for the Cabinet in approving the text in a short time. As a result, the final approval could be after March.

The difficulty in negotiating the budget arises from the specific parliamentary procedure explained above, but also from the need to apply new adjustments to comply with the commitment to reduce the public deficit to 3 % in this government term. **Few parties are prepared to share responsibilities for cuts with the Government**, or they have a widely divergent outlook on tax increases to raise revenues.

As well as these laws, a number of People’s Party spokespersons, including the President himself, have undertaken to prepare other Bills in 2017, such as one on **climate change** and the management of **food waste**.

Other legal changes are being forced on the Government by judicial decisions. This is the case of a review of the **means-based energy subsidy**, or the system of “double minimum” duties in the **taxation of tobacco**. Both these issues could also be included in the draft Budget. On the labour

issue, the decision referring **interim workers** issued by the Court of Justice of the EU will have to be executed and the scope of its review determined.

## 6. PRIORITIES FOR THE OPPOSITION

Mariano Rajoy has been generally criticised by all the opposition for his lack of real dialogue with the rest of the parliamentary parties during the 2011-2015 government. The approval of numerous measures by Decree-Law or Bills that are not agreed with other parliamentary parties has, according to the opposition parties, demonstrated the arrogance of Mariano Rajoy’s attitude to government. Given this situation, his openness to negotiation is welcomed, although with some mistrust.

The core elements on which the opposition is addressing the government’s term can be summed up on the following points.

First, the **fight against corruption**, Rajoy is accused of not having acted against the generalised corruption in his party in response to which measures to regenerate Parliament will be promoted, starting with the implementation of investigative committees in various areas. There is a broad consensus that could give rise to votes against the interests

“The victory of the Sánchez camp could help in another approach to Podemos”

of the Government. The calls for the removal of the former Minister of Home Affairs are an example of the difficulties that Rajoy may be faced with.

Second, there is the **economic recovery** that could help the precarious situation the Spanish people who have fallen into **poverty** due to the policy of cuts. The approach to the subject varies from **tax measures** on wealth and not on income from work (left-wing parties), policies against **energy vulnerability** (among which a proposed Bill presented by Ciudadanos has already been approved), the introduction of **policies in favour of SMEs rather than big business** and the protection of consumers against **abuse in sectors such as banking and energy**.

And third, there is the **territorial question**. In this area, there are a number of different approaches in which **it will be difficult for the opposition to reach joint agreements**. The nationalist parties together with Podemos have shown themselves in favour of recognising the right to self-determination and approval of a referendum in Catalonia. The PSOE is in favour of creating a committee in Congress to study the challenges of territorial organisation in Spain. Finally, Ciudadanos are closer to the Government's own position.

## CALENDAR FOR THE OPPOSITION

The main parties in the opposition have their own calendars that will also help determine how the government's term develops.

**The Socialist Party will in December approve the timetable for its upcoming Federal Congress**, which is likely to be held in the spring of 2017. Before the Congress, primary elections must be held to choose the party's new general secretary. Internal divisions have been opening up over recent months, erupting in the Federal Commission of 1 October, with the subsequent resignation of Pedro Sánchez and the change in attitude to the investiture of Rajoy. This division of approach with respect to the role to be played by the PSOE in Spanish politics remains and will be decided on in these primaries.

The party representatives are agreed on the **need for tough opposition to the new Government**, although the triumph of one sector or the other could result in an earlier end to the Government's term. The victory of the Sánchez camp could help in another approach to Podemos and force a confidence motion in the second half of 2017. Victory by the sector that promoted abstention will tend to extend

“Other key parties on the national political scene will be the Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV) (Basque Nationalist Party) and the parties from the Canary Islands (Coalición Canaria and Nueva Canarias)”

the legislature to allow a reconstruction of the party’s electoral base. Similarly, a new framework of **relations with the PSC (Catalan Socialist Party)** will have to be established to prevent further separate voting.

Podemos also has to hold its citizens’ assembly to determine its **political strategy, choosing between the more radical vision of Pablo Iglesias and the more moderate Íñigo Errejón**. Iglesias’ leadership is not in doubt from any of the sides. However, the relative weight of each sector on the rest of the points to be decided on does have to be determined.

The elections to choose the leadership in Madrid will be indicative of the support they will receive in the assembly. A victory of the candidates Rita Maestre and Tania Sánchez would give greater weight to the Errejón sector at the organisational level and among the parliamentary spokespersons, who have a broad power of influence on the party’s political positioning.

Podemos enters 2017 as **the opposition party in the best position to face early elections**. Its relations with the PSOE will also be marked by the feeling of trust in the new leadership and the calculation of good election results.

**Ciudadanos** has to address the definitive strengthening of **its organic structure**. The

party has grown in very little time without the structure of strong party, with well-defined decision-making areas; so 2017, following the period of political instability, will be the year in which its party model will be finally established.

In addition, once the judicial proceedings that directly affect the People’s Party are resolved, the decision may be made of whether to form part of the Government or remain a party in the parliamentary opposition.

Other key parties on the national political scene will be the **Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV)** (Basque Nationalist Party) and the parties from the Canary Islands (**Coalición Canaria** and **Nueva Canarias**). Their votes may determine whether there is a majority in favour of the government or the opposition. These parties (which did not vote in favour of the investiture of Rajoy, except for Coalición Canaria) have proved themselves open to negotiate on Draft Bills that are presented, including the State Budget.

#### THE DEBATE ON SOVEREIGNTY

Finally, the **Catalan nationalist parties** (Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya and the new Convergència) will play a leading role as they form the Catalan government. In the coming months, there are various milestones that will also mark the agenda of

“There will be other processes in the European Union that will influence the Spanish position in Brussels”

Rajoy’s new Government’s: budgets, disconnection laws and the referendum/elections.

Currently, the regional budgets are being negotiated with the anti-capitalist party CUP. If these negotiations fail (as of today this appears improbable), there could be early regional elections.

Before this date, the “**disconnection laws**” must be approved, which will be appealed by the Government at the Constitutional Court. The laws will not enter into force, but tension will grow between the two governments.

Finally, in September 2017 a **referendum on independence** should be held. The Catalan government has shown itself favourably disposed to reaching an agreement with Central Government to hold it. Given the certainty that such an agreement will not occur, new elections could be held to reinforce the positions of the pro-independence parties.

## 7. THE EUROPEAN AGENDA

The agenda of the European Union will also have a direct influence on Spanish policy in the initial months of its term.

The European Commission agreed to suspend the **fine on Spain for its excess deficit** in the spring. In exchange,

the acting government approved a review of inheritance tax, agreed with Ciudadanos and the PSOE, which will allow receipt of early revenues to reduce the 2016 deficit. In addition, payment commitments not already approved were frozen. The Spanish executive has accepted a stricter supervision of the deficit. This control over economic policy will be one of the keys to the Government’s term.

At the same time, there will be other processes in the European Union that will influence the Spanish position in Brussels and the European attitude to Spain.

Before March, the United Kingdom has announced that it will implement Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty to initiate the **Brexit negotiations**. The attitude of the rest of the member states is, in theory, in favour of tough negotiations. The British Prime Minister, Theresa May, paid a visit to the Spanish President to try to bring positions closer.

The possible alliances that European partners are looking for with Spain to influence its position with respect to the negotiations could lead to a game of counter-offers favouring the relaxation of fiscal control mentioned above. The negotiations have a maximum term of two

years, which implies they will mark a significant part of the Government's term.

Elections are expected in France and Germany in 2017. In the spring, **the French will elect a new President of the Republic**, and the chances are a conservative will win. This will mark a change in France's political landscape. It will have a Prime Minister of Spanish origin and a president of the same political family as the People's Party.

What are already good relations with France could improve and facilitate a partnership between Madrid and Paris to influence the agenda of the European Union's priorities.

In the autumn, **parliamentary elections will be held in Germany**. Over recent years, a coalition between conservatives and socialists has maintained the German economy in a good position, with unemployment at minimal levels. However, opinion polls suggest voters may punish both parties harshly: they could suffer a similar situation to Spain,

not winning 50 % of the votes between them for the first time. A new electoral alliance will have to form the Government.

One of the keys will lie in the weight held in the end by the Alternative for Germany (populist and anti-European), which will largely determine the strength of support for the European project by Germany and the demands for strict respect for the Stability Pact by the States currently not complying.

There will also be elections in Austria (repetition of the presidential elections) and in the Netherlands (parliamentary). The anti-European electorate has grown in these countries.

They are small countries in the EU, but the extension of these types of governments in the European Council will lead to more resistance to integration and make it difficult to make progress in policies such as energy union, banking union, negotiations of international treaties, the single digital market or immigration policy and refugees.

## ORGANIZATION CHART

Below we present the basic structure of the allocation of the existing State Secretaries (and bodies under a different name but with the same category) to the new Ministries. This structure may not be final, depending on the needs of the new government of renaming, merging, dividing or creating these higher state bodies.

In the coming weeks, a decree on the final structure of the State Secretariats will be approved together with the naming of the final General Secretariats, Directorates-General, Sub-Directorates and other bodies. The Congress and Senate Commissions will be also reshaped to be assimilated into the ministerial framework.



### STRUCTURE OF THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT

<p><b>Ministry of the Presidency and of the Regional Administrations</b></p> <hr/>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· S.S. for Courts Relations</li> <li>· S.S. for Regional Administrations</li> <li>· National Intelligence Center (CNI)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation</b></p> <hr/>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· S.S. for Foreign Affairs</li> <li>· S.S. for the European Union</li> <li>· S.S. for International Cooperation and for Ibero-America</li> </ul>
<p><b>Ministry of Justice</b></p> <hr/>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· S.S. for Justice</li> </ul>	<p><b>Ministry of Defence</b></p> <hr/>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· S.S. for Defence</li> </ul>
<p><b>Ministry of the Treasury and Public Function</b></p> <hr/>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· S.S. for Finance</li> <li>· S.S. for Budgets and Expenditure</li> <li>· S.S. for Public Function</li> </ul>	<p><b>Ministry of Home Affairs</b></p> <hr/>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· S.S. for Security</li> </ul>
<p><b>Ministry of Public Works</b></p> <hr/>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· S.S. for Infrastructures, Transport and Housing</li> </ul>	<p><b>Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport</b></p> <hr/>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· S.S. for Education, Professional Training and Universities</li> <li>· S.S. for Culture</li> <li>· S.S. for Communications (organically, it depends on Government Presidency)</li> </ul>
<p><b>Ministry of Employment and Social Security</b></p> <hr/>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· S.S. for Employment</li> <li>· S.S. for Social Security</li> </ul>	<p><b>Ministry of Energy, Tourism, and Digital Agenda</b></p> <hr/>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· S.S. for Energy</li> <li>· S.S. for the Information Society and Digital Agenda</li> <li>· S.S. for Tourism</li> </ul>
<p><b>Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, and Environmental Affairs</b></p> <hr/>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· S.S. for Environmental Affairs</li> </ul>	<p><b>Ministry of Economic Affairs, Industry and Competition</b></p> <hr/>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· S.S. for Economic Affairs and Business Support</li> <li>· S.S. for Trade</li> <li>· S.S. for Research, Development and Innovation</li> </ul>
<p><b>Ministry of Health, Social Services and Equality</b></p> <hr/>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· S.S. for Social Services and Equality</li> </ul>		

\* S.S.- State Secretariat

## MINISTERS PROFILES



### SORAYA SÁENZ DE SANTAMARÍA ANTÓN

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT,  
MINISTRY OF THE PRESIDENCY AND OF  
THE REGIONAL ADMINISTRATIONS

#### PERSONAL INFORMATION

- Valladolid, on June 10, 1970.
- Married, one child.

#### EDUCATION

- Bachelor's in Law from the University of Valladolid (end of degree award).
- Master's in Telecommunications Law.

#### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- 2004: State's Attorney before the Supreme Court of Madrid.
- 2002-2003: Associate Professor of Administrative Law at the Universidad Carlos III of Madrid.
- 1999-2000: State's Attorney – Head of León.

#### POLITICAL CAREER

- 2011-Present: Vice-President of the Government.
- 2004-Present: Congresswoman:
  - » 2008-2011: Spokesperson of the Popular Parliamentary Group
- 2012: President of the Board of the International and Ibero-America Foundation of Administration and Public Policies (FIIAPP).

- 2004-2008: Executive Secretary of Regional and Local Policy in the Partido Popular.
- 2002-2003: Advisor in the Cabinet of the First Vice-President of the government in the Ministry of the Presidency and the Interior Ministry.

#### ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

- She was the person in charge of coordinating the government's efforts as the Minister of the Presidency since Rajoy won the elections in 2011 and is totally trusted by the president.
- Speaker at the reforms of the Statutes of Autonomy of Catalonia, Andalusia, the Balearic Islands, the Canary Islands, Aragon and Castilla y León.
- Speaker at the Constitutional Reform of art. 135 of the Spanish Constitution (August 2011).



## ALFONSO MARÍA DASTIS QUECEDO

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND COOPERATION

### PERSONAL INFORMATION

- Jerez de la Frontera, Cádiz, on Oct. 5, 1955

### EDUCATION

- Law degree.
- In 1983 he joined the Diplomatic Corps.

### POLITICAL CAREER

- 2011-2016: Ambassador Permanent Representative of Spain to the European Union.
- 2011: Coreper coordinator at the European Union.
- 2010-2011: Coreper coordinator at Spain's Permanent Representation to the EU.
- 2008-2010: European Union's Deputy Director of Institutional Affairs.
- 2007-2008: Advisory Member of the Undersecretary's Technical Cabinet.
- 2004-2007: Ambassador of Spain to the Kingdom of the Netherlands.
- 2004: Advisory Member of the Undersecretary's Technical Cabinet.
- 2002-2004: Secretary General of European Affairs.
- 2000-2002: Director of the Organizing Committee's Support Unit of Spain's Presidency of the EU.
- 1996-2000: Advisory Member of the Prime Minister's Office.
- 1995-1996: Advisory Member of the European Union's Subdirector General for the Coordination of Legal Affairs.

- 1994-1995: Advisory Member of the Directorate General for legal and institutional coordination.
- 1990-1994: Counselor at Spain's Permanent Representation to the United Nations.
- 1989-1990: Secretary at Spain's Permanent Mission to the United Nations.
- 1987-1989: Temporary Agent at EU's Court of Justice.
- 1986-1988: Advisory Member at the EU's Subdirector General for the coordination of legal affairs.
- 1985-1986: Executive Advisor in the Cabinet of the Minister.
- 1983-1985: Legal Advisor at the International Law Department.
- 1983: Head of the Division of International Legal Policy at the General Technical Secretariat.



**RAFAEL CATALÁ POLO**  
MINISTER OF JUSTICE

#### PERSONAL INFORMATION

- Madrid, on June 21, 1961.

#### EDUCATION

- Bachelor's in Law from the Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- Member of the Higher Corps of Civil Administrators of the State since 1985.

#### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- 2007-2011: Associate Professor of Political Science and Public Administration at the Universidad Carlos III.
- 2005: 2012: Director of the Master's in Public Administration at ESADE Business School.
- 2004-2005: Managing Director of the Hospital Ramón y Cajal.

#### POLITICAL CAREER

- 2011-Present: Minister of Justice.
- 2002-2004: Secretary of State of Justice.
- 2000-2002: Under Secretary of the Ministry of the Treasury.
- 1999-2000: General Manager of Personnel and Services of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport.
- 1996-1999: General Manager of the Civil Service.
- 1988-1992: Deputy General Manager of Personnel Regulation and Policy of the Ministry of Health.



**MARÍA DOLORES DE COSPEDAL GARCÍA**  
MINISTER OF DEFENCE

#### PERSONAL INFORMATION

- Madrid, on Dec. 13, 1965.
- Married, one son.

#### EDUCATION

- Law degree from Universidad San Pablo CEU (Madrid).

#### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- 2004-2005: State lawyer in the Human Rights Court.
- 1994-1996: Chief state lawyer at the Ministry of Social Affairs.
- 1992-1994: Ministry of Public Works, Transport and the Environment. Legal Services.
- 1991: She joined the Senior Corps of State Lawyers.

#### POLITICAL CAREER

- 2016-Present: Member of the Spanish Chamber of Deputies.
- 2011-2015: President of the regional government of Castilla-La Mancha.
- 2008-Present: Partido Popular's General Secretary.
- 2007-2015: Member of the Parliament of Castilla-La Mancha representing Toledo.
- 2006-Present: PP's President in Castilla-La Mancha.
- 2006-2011: Senator from Castilla-La Mancha.
- 2004-2006: Advisor of Transport and Infrastructure at Madrid's regional government.

- 2002-2004: Undersecretary of Interior.
- 2000-2002: Undersecretary of Public Administration.
- 1999-2000: General Technical Secretary of the Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs.
- 1998-1999: Labor and social affairs advisor at Spain´s Embassy to the United States.
- 1996-1997: Advisor to the Minister for Employment and Social Affairs, Javier Arenas.

#### ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

- Cospedal is one of Spain´s most relevant political figures of the last decade.
- She had never been Minister. During Rodríguez Zapatero´s second term she was one of Partido Popular´s main spokespersons, even though she was not a Congresswoman but a Senator. Before learning about the 2011 general election having been moved forward, she ran for president of Castilla-La Mancha´s regional government, ending more than two decades of socialist leadership in the region.
- Her name has never appeared in any of the summary proceedings related to the corruption schemes Partido Popular is being investigated for. Whenever asked about this subject, she is always very critical with those who have tried to profit at the expense of Partido Popular. Nevertheless, she and her husband have been investigated for their business activities and there were public rumors of possibly being involved in a prevarication case when she was president of the government of Castilla-La Mancha.
- None of the **150 measures in the agreement between Partido Popular and Ciudadanos** to guarantee Rajoy´s appointment made any mention to Cospedal becoming a Minister. Her main task will be to continue to cut defense costs.



**CRISTÓBAL RICARDO MONTORO ROMERO**  
MINISTER OF THE TREASURY AND PUBLIC FUNCTION

#### PERSONAL INFORMATION

- Cambril, Jaén, on Jul. 28, 1950.
- Married.

#### EDUCATION

- Bachelor's Degree in Economics from Universidad Autónoma of Madrid.
- Ph.D. in Economics from Universidad Autónoma of Madrid.

#### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- 1989: Professor of Applied Economics (Public Finance and Fiscal Law) at Universidad de Cantabria.
- Assistant professor and full professor of Applied Economics (Public Finance and Fiscal Law) at Universidad de Cantabria.
- 1981-1993: Director of Research at Instituto de Estudios Económicos (IEE).
- 1975-1981: Deputy Director of Research at Banco Atlántico.

#### POLITICAL CAREER

- 2008-Present: Congressman in Legislatures 9, 10, 11 and 12.
- 2008-2011: Spokesperson at the Economy and Finance Committee.
- 2008-Present: Partido Popular's Economy and Employment Coordinator.
- Presenter, Project 2011 State General Budget.
- 2004-2008: Member of the European Parliament.

- 2000-2004: Congressman in Legislatures 7 and 8 (March through July 2004).
- 2000-2004: Minister of Finance.
- 1999-Present: Member of Partido Popular's National Executive Committee.
- 1996-2000: Secretary of State for Economy.
- 1993-1996: Congressman in Legislatures 5 and 6.

#### ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

- As Secretary of State for Economic Affairs (1996 – 2000) he was a strong advocate of Spain's incorporation into the first group of countries that adopted a common currency, and of the liberalization and privatization process carried out by José María Aznar's government.



**JUAN IGNACIO ZOIDO ÁLVAREZ**  
MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

#### PERSONAL INFORMATION

- Sevilla, on Jan. 21, 1957.
- Married, four children.

#### EDUCATION

- Law Degree from Universidad de Sevilla.

#### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- 1992-1996: Member of the Government Chamber of the High Court of Justice of Andalusia and its Commission.
- 1992: Chief Judge at Sevilla's Court.
- 1989: Judge at Sevilla's Criminal Court Number 7.
- 1987: Judge at Sevilla's Lower Court Number 7.
- 1987: Judge at La Laguna's (Tenerife) Lower Court Number 3.
- 1984: Judge at Utrera's (Sevilla) Lower Court.
- 1983: Entry Judge at Arrecife's Court (Lanzarote).

#### POLITICAL CAREER

- 2016-Present: Congressman
- Present: Grupo Popular's Spokesperson at Sevilla's City Council.
- 2012-2014: Partido Popular's President in Andalusia.
- 2011-2015: Mayor of Sevilla.
- 2011-2012: President of the Spanish Federation of Municipalities and Provinces.

- 2008-2010: President of the Justice Commission at Andalusia's Parliament.
- 2008-2014: Member of Andalusia's regional Parliament representing Sevilla.
- 2004-2006: Partido Popular's Secretary General in Andalusia.
- 2002-2004: Government's representative in Andalusia.
- 2000-2002: Government's representative in Castilla-La Mancha.
- 1996-2000: Director General of Relations with the Justice Administration.

#### ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

- Among the **150 measures included in the agreement between Partido Popular and Ciudadanos** to guarantee Rajoy's appointment, there are several proposals that fall under Zoido's Ministry:
- Maintaining an integral strategy against terrorism, chasing terrorists and collaborators wherever they may be, denouncing and pursuing any glorification acts or tributes to terrorists, and preventing by all means possible the spread of their ideology.
  - » Promoting the full development of the National Strategic Plan to combat violent radicalization, with the goal of pursuing yihadism with determination, strengthening police and judicial cooperation.
  - » Reviewing the Organic Law of Citizen Security or "Gag Rule" to improve different regulation aspects, intensifying guarantees and promoting greater efficiency, particularly to confront the most serious threats.



**ÍÑIGO DE LA SERNA HERNÁIZ**  
MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS

#### PERSONAL INFORMATION

- Bilbao, on Jan. 10, 1971
- Legally separated, two children.

#### EDUCATION

- Civil Engineer from Universidad de Cantabria.

#### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- 1995-1999: Responsible for the Water Department at APIA XXI.

#### POLITICAL CAREER

- 2007-2016: Mayor of Santander.
- 2015-2016: Regional Congressman.
- 2015-2016: Vicepresident of the Spanish Federation of Municipalities and Provinces.
- 2012-2015: President of the Spanish Federation of Municipalities and Provinces.
- 2003-2007: Counselor of the Environment, Water and Beaches at Santander's City Council.
- 1999-2003: Head of the Cabinet Office of Cantabria's Secretary of Environment.

### ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

- 2012-2016: President of the Spanish Network of Intelligent Cities and the Council of European Municipalities and Regions.
- He is a member of the World Economic Forum's Global Agenda Councils. Until his appointment as Minister of Public Works, he was Vicepresident of the Conference of Atlantic Arc Cities (CAAC), member of the Committee of the Regions and the United Cities and Local Governments (CGLU), as well as External Advisor at the Inter-American Development Bank.
- His most important challenges as Minister of Public Works include the liberalization of the railways, the completion of the high-speed railways already in progress, the real estate market and the state of toll motorways.



## ÍÑIGO MÉNDEZ DE VIGO Y MONTOJO

MINISTER OF EDUCATION, CULTURE AND SPORT AND  
GOVERNMENT SPOKESPERSON

### PERSONAL INFORMATION

- Tétouan (Morocco), on January 21, 1956.
- Baron of Claret, a title he inherited from his mother, the daughter of the novelist Carmen de Icaza.

### EDUCATION

- Bachelor's in Law.
- Speaks German, English and French.

### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- Lawyer affiliated with the Professional College of Madrid; he was a partner at Bufete Ruiz-Navarro y Asociados.
- 2009: Appointed president of the Administrative Board of the Colegio de Europa, a prestigious post-graduate university institution.
- 2003: Appointed president of the Advisory Board of the Study Institute at CEU San Pablo University.
- 1999-2003: Jean Monnet Chair of European Institutions in the Faculty of Law of Madrid.
- 1994-1998: Managing Partner of the Bufete García-Margallo y Méndez de Vigo.
- 1982-1984: Professor of Constitutional Law at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- 1984-1989: Guest Professor at the International Human Rights Institute in Strasbourg.
- 1989-1992: Professor of EU law at CEU San Pablo University.

### POLITICAL CAREER

- 2015-2016: Minister of Education, Culture and Sport.
- 2011-2015: Secretary of State for the European Union in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation.
  - » 2007: Member of the European Parliament for the Lisbon Treaty.
  - » 2006: Member of the Action Committee for European Democracy.
  - » 2005: Coordinator of the European Parliament for the ratification process.
  - » 2004: Member of the European Parliament for the Constitutional Treaty.
  - » 2003: Representative of the European Parliament at the Intergovernmental Conference in Rome.
  - » 2002: Member of the Presidium of the Convention on the Future of Europe.
  - » 2001: Member of the European Parliament for the Nice Treaty.
  - » 2001: Member of the European Parliament in the Convention on the Future of Europe.
  - » 1997: Member of the European Parliament for the Amsterdam Treaty.
  - » 1992- 2011: Deputy in the European Parliament.
- Since 1992 he has been a member of the Steering Board of the Partido Popular, which he joined in 1989.
- 1994-1996: First Vice-President of the Institutional Affairs Commission.

- 1999-2000: President of the European Parliament delegation in the Convention charged with writing the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, Vice-President and speaker at the Convention.
- 1984-1989: Special Advisor of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, Marcelino Oreja.
- 1982-1984: Director of Interparliamentary Relations in the General Courts of Spain.
- 1981: Lawyer of the General Courts of Spain.

#### ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

- 2011: Appointed president of the Spanish Committee for the Paneuropean Union.
- Since 2004: President of the Intergroup of the Fourth World Association.
- Since 2003: Board member of the Fundación Acción Familiar.
- 2001: Vice-President of the non-governmental organisation Ayuda en Acción.
- 1997: President of the Spanish section of the Action Committee for the European Union.
- 1990: Board member of the European Sciences and Culture Foundation; 1996 General Delegate since 1996.



**MARÍA FÁTIMA BÁÑEZ GARCÍA**

MINISTER OF EMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL SECURITY

#### PERSONAL INFORMATION

- San Juan del Puerto, Huelva, on January 6, 1967.
- Married, two children.

#### EDUCATION

- Degree in Law, Business and Economics from ICADE.

#### POLITICAL EXPERIENCE

- 2011-Present: Minister of Employment and Social Security.
- 2000-Present: Congresswoman.
  - » 2008-2011: (Legislature 9): Partido Popular's Deputy Spokesperson in Congress. Coordinator of the Economic Area.
  - » 2004-2008: (Legislature 8): Partido Popular's Budgets Spokesperson in Congress. Member of the Economy and Finance Committee and the Industry, Commerce and Tourism Committee.
  - » 2000-2004: (Legislature 7) Deputy Spokesperson of the Economy and Finance Committee. Member of the Budgets Committee and the Toledo Pact. Spokesperson of the Subcommittee of Microenterprises and Self-Employed Workers. Coordinator of the PP's President Office in Andalusia.
  - » 1997-2000 she was a member of the Board of Directors of RTVA and Coordinator of the Partido Popular's Presidency in Andalusia.
- Since 1996: PP's Regional Executive Committee in Andalusia. Between 1997 and 2004 she was coordinator of the Partido Popular's Presidency in Andalusia. She has been Partido Popular's Undersecretary of Economy (2004-2008) and Undersecretary of Economy and Employment in Andalusia (2008-2011).

#### ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

- **Montoro's right-hand person in Congress and Sáenz de Santamaría's trusted person.** Báñez was one of the new Minister of Finance and Public Administration's closest collaborators in controlling Zapatero's government budgets, and is one of the authors of PP's economic electoral program. Likewise, she is one of the Vicepresident's most trusted collaborators. She was part of the transition team almost on all occasions, particularly the Employment's team.

**ÁLVARO NADAL BELDA**

MINISTER OF ENERGY, TOURISM AND DIGITAL AGENDA

**PERSONAL INFORMATION**

- Madrid, on Jan. 7, 1970.
- Married to Teresa Lizaranzu, Ambassador and permanent delegate of Spain to UNESCO. They have two children.

**EDUCATION**

- Bachelor's Degree in Law, Business and Economics from ICADE.
- PhD from Harvard University.
- Member of the Commercial Technicians and State Economists Corps.

**PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

- 2004: Deputy Director of Programming and Evaluation of EU Funding.
- 2003-2004: Advisor at the State Secretariat of Budgets and Expenditures.
- 2001-2003: Economic and Commercial Counsellor at the Spanish Embassy in Israel.
- 1998-2011: Advisor to the Government's Deputy Vicepresident.
- 1997: Advisor to the Minister of Industry and Energy.
- 1995-1997: Technical advisor at the Underdirectorate of Studies of Foreign Affairs.

### POLITICAL CAREER

- 2011-2016: Director of the President´s Economic Office and Secretary of the Economic Affairs Committee.
- 2008-Present: Congressman:
  - » 2008-2011. Deputy spokesperson of the Congress´ Economic Committee.
- 2004-Present: PP´s Secretary of Economy and Employment.

### ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

- He and his brother Alberto designed the electrical and gas interconnection project with France. Alvaro Nadal was responsible for the project´s strategy and economic viability.
- Not a public figure, he has been responsible for designing Rajoy´s economic presentations. He is also his right-hand person at the EU summits, where he speaks to Angela Merkel in German, and a key element of the government´s reforms package. He is considered the government´s “economic master mind” or “third economic minister”.
- Older than his twin brother Alberto by just a few minutes, Alvaro graduated first in his class and Alberto second. They both belong to the Commercial Technicians and State Economists Corps.
- He was one of the seven most trustful advisors Rajoy picked to negotiate with Ciudadanos last August. Nadal negotiated with Luis Garicano C´s support to the budgets and fiscal measures Rivera´s people want to modify.



### ISABEL GARCÍA TEJERINA

MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE, FISHERIES AND FOOD,  
AND ENVIRONMENTAL AFFAIRS

#### PERSONAL INFORMATION

- Valladolid, on Oct. 9 1968.
- Single.

#### EDUCATION

- Program in Accounting and Finance for Non-Financial Managers from IESE.
- Advanced Program in Energy Business, Spanish Energy Club.
- Agribusiness Seminar, Harvard Business School.
- Global Senior Management Program, Instituto de Empresa-University of Chicago Graduate School of Business.
- Law degree from Universidad de Valladolid.
- Third year at Universidad Paul Valery, Montpellier, France, under the ERASMUS program.
- Master in Agricultural Economy from the University of California, Davis with a scholarship from La Caixa Foundation.
- Master in the European Union. Universidad Politécnica de Madrid.
- Agricultural Engineer. Specialization in Agricultural Economy. Universidad Politécnica de Madrid. Cum laude.

#### POLITICAL CAREER

- 2014-Present: Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries, Food and the Environment.
- 2012-2014: Secretary General of Agriculture and Food at the Ministry of Agriculture, Food and the Environment.

- 2005-2012: Advisor at FERTIAL S.P.A., Algerian fertilizer manufacturer.
- 2004-2012: Strategic Planning Director, FERTIBERIA S.A.
- Head of the Innovation, Research and Development Department
  - » Head of Market Research and Analysis and Agricultural Service.
- 2003-2004: Secretary General of Agriculture and Food at the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food. Head of the Department of Agriculture, Food, Rural Development and Livestock.
- 2000-2004: Member of the Advisory Board of State's Ports.
- 2000-2004: Advisor of the State Enterprise of Northern Agricultural Infrastructures.
- 2000-2003: Secretary General of Agriculture at the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food. Head of the Departments of Agriculture and Livestock.
- 2000: Executive Advisor to the Cabinet of the Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, Miguel Arias Cañete. Head of European and International Affairs.
- 1999-2000: Executive Advisor to the Cabinet of the Minister of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries, Jesus Posada. Head of international relations.
- 1999: Executive Advisor to the Cabinet of the Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, Loyola de Palacio.
- 1998-1999: Member of the Department of European Agricultural Affairs. Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock, Castilla and León Regional Government.
- 1996-1998: Head of Agriculture at the Representation of Castilla and León Regional Government in Brussels.

### ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

- Technical profile. Expert in the industry and a veteran at the Ministry of Agriculture.
- Expert in the development of a European Agricultural Policy.
- Promotor of the Irrigation National Plan.
- Advocate for energy efficiency and renewable energies.
- Among the 150 measures included in the agreement between Partido Popular and Ciudadanos to guarantee Rajoy's appointment, there are several proposals that belong to Garcia Tejerina's area:
- A Climate Change and Energy Transition Law consistent with European goals and goals adopted at the World Climate Summit COP21.
  - » Promoting the defense of the rural environment and the agri-food and fishing industries, in consistency with the focus adopted by the European Union.



### LUIS DE GUINDOS JURADO

MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS, INDUSTRY  
AND COMPETITION

#### PERSONAL INFORMATION

- Valladolid, on Jan. 16, 1960.
- Married, two children.

#### EDUCATION

- Bachelor's in Economics and Business from CUNEF (Universidad Complutense de Madrid) – Extraordinary End of Degree award.
- Trade Specialist and State Economist (2<sup>nd</sup> in the graduating class).

#### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- 2010-2011: Director of the Financial Sector Centre of PwC.
- 2010-2011: Director of the IE Business School.
- Until 2011: Member of the Administrative Board of Endesa.
- Until 2011: Board member of Unidad Editorial.
- Until 2011: Talk radio guest on RNE.
- 2008-2011: Head of the PwC Finance Sector in Spain.
- 2006-2008: Executive president of Lehman Brothers for Spain and Portugal.
- 2004-2006: Member of the Lehman Brothers advisory board for Europe.
- 1988-1996: Managing director of AB Asesores.

### POLITICAL CAREER

- 2011-Present: Minister of Economy and Competitiveness.
  - » Head of the delegation of the board of ECOFIN during Spain's presidency of the EU.
  - » Vicepresident of the EU's Economic Policy Committee.
- Head of the Spanish delegation of the OECD's Economic Policy Committee.
- Head of the delegation of the OECD's ministerial meeting.
- Member of the EU's Economic and Finance Committee (EFC).
- President of the investment committee of the Social Security Reserve Fund.
- 2002-2004: Secretary of State of Economy.
- 2000-2002: General Secretary of Economic Policy and Defence of Competition.
- 1996-2000: General Manager of Economic Policy and Defence of Competition.

### ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

- A minister with experience to consolidate economic growth: In 2011, De Guindos already had extensive experience in both the business world (Endesa, Lehman Brothers and PwC) and in the public sector (Director General of Economic Policy and Secretary General of Economic Policy and Defence of Competition). This experience has been expanded in the past four years, during which De Guindos has adopted economic measures which have allowed the Spanish economy to grow three times faster than the European economy, and Mariano Rajoy knows this. This is why the President of the government wanted to carry on with the economic pathway spearheaded by his Minister of Economy. Furthermore, Luis de Guindo was in charge of the PP's economic programme in the 2004 elections and back then was asked to take the portfolio he now holds.

- A nod to Ciudadanos (Citizens): The economic team of Ciudadanos approves of Luis de Guindos continuing as the Minister of the Economy. Garicano, Roldán and De la Torre will lead the party's team in the budget negotiations for 2017.
- Basic contacts in the EU: In his travels, he has furthered his contacts with the economic leaders of the European Union and the multilateral institutions which later ask Spain to fulfil its commitments and deadlines to meet the deficit objectives. This is a highly valuable dialogue that Rajoy does not want to do without at this time, when Europe is periodically calling for adjustments and now short-term cut-backs to the tune of 5.5 billion euros.
- A minister with conflicts of interest: He is the minister with the second highest number of abstentions in debates on draft laws, reports or ministerial agreements. Luis de Guindos has gotten up from the table of the Council of Ministers 14 times since Rajoy became president in December 2011 to avoid taking decisions that affected the companies in which he has worked, as stipulated by the 2015 Law on High Office. His 14 abstentions were due to decisions related to the electrical market, except for a sanction against the former General Manager of ICO because one of the contracts that motivated the sanction were awarded to PwC. He has never recused himself from a decision related to the banking sector.
- Little relationship with the Ministry of the Treasury. His relationship with Montoro has not been good, and he has often gone to Brussels without all the information he would have like to have had on the public deficit and the accounts of the administrations from the Ministry of the Treasury
- Loss of the presidency of the Eurogroup: In July 2015, the Dutch Social Democratic Jeroen Dijsselbloem beat Luis de Guindos in his race for the head of the Eurogroup (the meeting of Ministers of the Economy in the Eurozone). Guindos lost 12 votes to 7, while a source from Moncloa claimed that the voting was closer. Weeks before the vote, Guindos announced that he would not serve as minister again, and this cooled off his support by the members as the general elections drew near. However, one of his supporters was Germany.

- An independent through and through. Luis de Guindos, who was so far outside the cabinet one year ago that he failed in his bid for the presidency of the Eurogroup, refused to be included on the election lists on 20-D and 26-J and claims to be an independent. All of these factors have led him to be rejected by many popular leaders, who also blame him for the mistake of having gotten Rajoy involved in the mess of appointing Soria for the World Bank.
- The president's instructor on economic matters: He was one of former president Aznar's right-hand men, and during the last years of opposition, Rajoy went to him several times to allay his doubts on these matters.
- At the helm of Lehman Brothers. De Guindos was at the helm of the American firm in Spain and Portugal when it declared bankruptcy in 2008 as a result of the subprime mortgage scandal.
- A candidate for Caja Madrid: In 2009, his name was bandied as a possible replacement for Miguel Blesa as the president of this bank, a position which was ultimately given to Rodrigo Rato.

**DOLORS MONTSERRAT MONTSERRAT**

MINISTER OF HEALTH, SOCIAL SERVICES AND EQUALITY

**PERSONAL INFORMATION**

- Sant Sadurní d'Anoia, Barcelona, on Dec. 13, 1965.
- Her mother, Dolors Montserrat i Culleré, has been a member of the Catalan Parliament.

**EDUCATION**

- Law Degree from Universidad Abad Oliba CEU (Barcelona).
- Master, Law School of Barcelona's Bar Association.
- Program in Communitarian Agrarian Law from Università degli Studi di Ferrara (Italy).
- Postgraduate degree in Urban Development and Real Estate Law from Universidad Pompeu Fabra.
- Postgraduate degree in Mediation and Negotiation from Universidad de Barcelona.
- Program in Urban Development and Real Estate Law from ESADE.
- Program in Real Estate Management from IESE.

**PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

- 1997-2004: Attorney at her own law practice, specialized in urban development, real estate and environmental law. She is a member of Barcelona's Bar Association and served as a public defender.

### POLITICAL CAREER

- 2008-Present: Congresswoman in legislatures 9, 10, 11 and 12.
- 2012-Present: PP of Catalunya's Undersecretary of Organization and Social Action.
- 2008-Present: Member of PP of Catalunya's Executive Committee.
- 2011-2015: Third Vicepresident of the Congress Board.
- 2007-2011: PP's Counselor and Spokesperson at Sant Sadurní d'Anoia's City Council.

### ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

- She has been president of the Board of Joves Confreres of Sant Sadurní D'Anoia's cava.
- Political protégé of Alicia-Sánchez Camacho, also close to Soraya Sáenz de Santamaría.
- Little professional experience. She has been politically active since she was young and one of Partido Popular's leading exponents in Catalunya.
- She is against gender parity and quotas, which she has described as "a positive discrimination mechanism that humiliates and discriminates women."

## Authors



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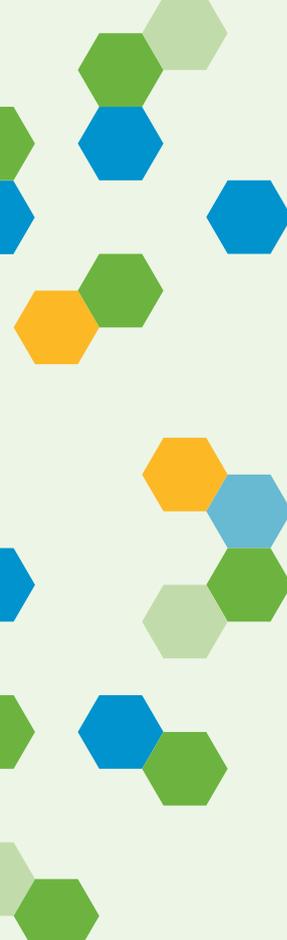
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